## Message Text

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SECRETBAMAKO 2930

E. O. 11652: XGDS-4 TAGS: PGOV ML PFOR UR

SUBJECT: MALIAN SEEKS SUPPORT TO ARREST COUNTRY'S LEFTWARD MOVEMENT

REF: DAKAR 2884

- 1. SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH WE WOULD TAKE EXCEPTION TO CERTAIN POINTS RAISED BY DAKAR'S VISITOR BABA DIARRA, HIS REMARKS ACCURATELY REFLECT THE THINKING OF MANY MALIANS. IT MUST BE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT MOST MOVES MADE BY MALIAN GOVERNMENT DESCRIBED AS PRO-SOVIET CAN ALSO BE EXPLAINED IN TERMS OF MALIAN SELF-INTEREST. END SUMMARY.
- 2. SOVIET DEVELOPMENT OF AIRFIELDS IN MALI PROVIDES BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE BENEFICIAL TO MALIAN ECONOMY OF A KIND THE UNITED STATES CANNOT OFFER. POLITICAL ADVANTAGE TO MALI IS THAT SHOULD AN AIRLIFT, SOVIET OR OTHERWISE, BE NEEDED TO SUPPORT LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, MALI WOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE AIRFIELDS AS ITS CONTRIBUTION.
- 3. SOVIET LEVERAGE IN MALI IS BASED ON MOSCOW'S WILLINGNESS TO ASSIST THE MALIAN MILITARY AND ON ITS LARGE EMBASSY, WHICH SUPPORTS HUNDREDS OF TEACHERS, DOCTORS, AND MILITARY ADVISERS AND PROVIDES SCHOLARSHIPS FOR MALIANS TO STUDY IN USSR. SECRET

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ALTHOUGH RESOURCES COMMITTED BY THE SOVIETS TO MALI HAVE BEEN CONSIDERABLE, WE WOULD JUDGE BENEFITS THEY HAVE GAINED AS RELATIVELY MODEST TO DATE. FRANCE STILL WIELDS MORE INFLUENCE IN MALI THAN DO THE SOVIETS, AND THAT INFLUENCE WAS REINFORCED BY PRESIDENT GISCARD'S FEBRUARY 1977 VISIT.

- 4. VISITOR DIARRA'S DESCRIPTION OF MALIAN LEADERSHIP FOLLOWS GENERAL LINE OF BAMAKO GOSSIP, BUT WE DOUBT THAT SECURITY DIRECTOR TIEKORO BAGAYOKO IS ADVOCATE OF CLOSER TIES WITH SOVIETS. PRESIDENT TRAORE IS INDEED WEAK, THOUGH WELL MOTIVATED; VICE PRESIDENT BABA DIARRA IS CONSIDERED MOST INTELLIGENT, REASONABLE, AND PRO-WEST; OTHER MENTIONED GENERALLY FIT VISITOR DIARRA'S DESCRIPTION. MORE IMPORTANT THAN TENDENCIES FOR OR AGAINST SOVIETS, HOWEVER, IS FACT THAT ALL MILITARY COMMITTEE MEMBERS, EXCEPT PERHAPS PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT, ARE AMBITIOUS, OPPORTUNISTIC, AND CORRUPT.
- 5. IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR THAT EMBRYONIC SINGLE PARTY WILL FOLLOW MARXIST-LENINIST LINES. IN ANY EVENT, IT REPRESENTS POTENTIAL IMPROVEMENT OVER PRESENT RULE BY MILITARY COMMITTEE WHICH HAS FLATLY BANNED ALL POLITICAL ACTIVITY. WHETHER OR NOT PARTY WILL BE SIMPLY A FACADE TO CONTINUE THE MILITARY IN POWER IS UNKNOWN AT THIS TIME.
- 6. WHAT IS NEW IN BAMAKO IS THAT SIX MONTHS AGO CHANGE
  OF GOVERNMENT COULD ONLY HAVE COME ABOUT BY MILITARY PALACE
  COUP, WHEREAS NOW THE POLITICAL SITUATION IS MORE COMPLICATED. NEW POLITICAL PARTY AND MORE MILITANT STUDENT ACTIVITY OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR CIVILIANS TO PRESSURE RULING
  MILITARY COMMITTEE FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY. THOSE DISSATISFIED WITH MILITARY RULE LOOK TO THE PARTY AS OUTLET AND
  PERHAPS A MEANS TO MOVE TOWARD GENUINE CIVILIAN PARTISECRET

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CIPATION. STUDENTS ARE AVAILABLE FORCE FOR CONFUSION AND INSTABILITY AND ARE LEARNING HOW TO ORGANIZE. ON THE OTHER

HAND, MILITARY COMMITTEE SECURITY FORCES ARE COMPETENT, AND IN THE PROVINCES THERE IS APATHY TOWARD THE NEW POLITICAL PARTY OWING TO UNHAPPY MEMORIES OF THE MODIBO KEITA REGIME.

7. MILITARY COMMITTEE'S GREATEST STRENGTH IS ITS UNITY.
LONG BEFORE ANY OPEN BREAK AMONG MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE WOULD OCCUR, THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE CABINET RESHUFFLE SUCH AS TOOK PLACE IN SEPTEMBER 1975 WHEN YOUSSOUF TRAORE AND JOSEPH MARA LOST THEIR MINISTERIAL POSTS (INFORMATION AND JUSTICE, RESPECTIVELY) BECAUSE OF BLATANT CORRUPTION. SOME MONTHS AGO THERE WAS PRESSURE TO REMOVE DEFENSE MINISTER DOUKARA BECAUSE OF CORRUPTION ALSO, BUT SO FAR HE REMAINS SECURELY ENTRENCHED.

8. CONCLUSION: THERE ARE A FEW MALIANS WHO TAKE SAME LINE WITH US IN BAMAKO AS VISITOR DIARRA DID IN DAKAR. HE IS NOT FAR OFF THE MARK IN DESCRIBING HOW MANY MALIANS VIEW

THE SITUATION, BUT HE IGNORES MALIAN SELF-INTEREST IN FOLLOWING CERTAIN POLICIES. VISITOR DIARRA COULD CONCEIVABLY ALSO BE PROVOCATEUR TRYING TO FERRET OUT U.S. THINKING ON THE SITUATION IN MALI. IT IS MORE LIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT HE IS JUST ANOTHER DISGRUNTLED MALIAN WHO BELIEVES THE MILITARY SHOULD RETURN TO THEIR BARRACKS AND LEAVE THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT TO CIVILIANS.

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